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The Future of Japan

By MARC T. GREENE

Background to Famine

By J. F. STERLING

Tibetan New Year

By WINIFRED HOLMES

Yunnanese City

By BERNARD LLEWELLYN

"Cold War" Against Malayan Tin

By V. WOLPERT

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COVER PICTURE SHOWS:

*A pai lou or memorial stone arch in a Yunnanese city.
(See page 18.)*

Believing in the freedom of the press, this journal represents a forum where articles containing many different, and often controversial, opinions are being published. They do not necessarily express the views or policy of the paper.

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EASTERN WORLD

MALAYA

THE visit to Malaya of Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, promises to have a wholesome effect on the situation in the Federation and Singapore. So far, his thorough and determined examination of all problems affecting Malaya has inspired confidence, and his decision to outline some of his conclusions on the spot has convinced everyone who doubted it that he means to employ all methods at the Government's power to restore order and security in Malaya. Action will naturally be taken after his return to London, but the broad outlines of Mr. Lyttelton's recommendations seem wise and practical. His stress on the importance of the co-operation of the population in the suppression of the Communist terrorists, and his recognition of the fact that the war can be won without the deployment of large additional military forces, will doubtless result in a change of policy in London. Hitherto too little attention was paid to the psychological side of the picture, and Mr. Lyttelton's statement that Chinese in Singapore who know no English will now be eligible for naturalisation as British subjects was, although long overdue, a step which is likely to have the most beneficial consequences. His explanation that there were in the Colony Chinese who, although they had had no reasonable opportunity of learning English, had shown by words and deeds their loyalty to the land of their adoption, has probably done more good than it would have been to send a division of troops for the protection of Singapore. Spokesmen of the Chinese have already expressed their appreciation, and Mr. Lyttelton's action regarding the Chinese in the Federation will now be expected with optimism. His realisation that a higher measure of protection for the resettlement areas will have to be achieved immediately, that a Home Guard containing large numbers of armed Chinese from the towns and resettlements should be organised on a proper scale, and finally his promise that the number of Malay and Chinese-speaking officials and police would be increased, are pointers in that direction. Altogether, the realistic attitude taken by the Colonial Secretary is bound to enhance the confidence of the Malay as well as the Chinese, Indians and Britishers in Malaya. For just because he has not announced an entirely new scheme but, after a comprehensive investigation, has realised what steps have to be taken in order to make existing plans work, he has re-established a greater belief in the soundness of Britain's measures. Finally, Mr. Lyttelton's pledge that Britain will not leave Malaya until a partnership on the lines of self-government becomes possible, will be welcomed by all, particularly by the business community which has begun to wonder whether its tremendous effort in keeping industry running under the

prevailing war conditions, could be justified as a long-term investment. Malaya, as the key to Southeast Asian security, is being anxiously watched by the whole world, and Mr. Lyttelton's action after his return to London will be awaited with impatience and hopes for its success.

THE WAR IN INDO-CHINA

THERE seems to be considerable improvement in Indo-China under General de Lattre de Tassigny's military leadership. News from there is still one-sided and restricted to alleged successes by the French troops without mentioning the appalling losses the latter are suffering. It is estimated that these are in the region of 39,000 men and £900 million in costs. However, on the whole, French and Viet Nam forces appear to be holding their own and, though unable to dislocate the Viet Minh, in a much better position to repel the enemy. The French display of strength has helped in consolidating the progress of Vietnamese self-government to some degree, but it is by no means clear whether Emperor Bao Dai is gaining in popularity. The Bao Dai government was intended by the French to act as a political weapon to win the Vietnamese away from Dr. Ho Chi Minh, but it seems certain that many who have not joined the Viet Minh have so far refused to have anything to do with the Bao Dai regime. They are not so much afraid of Communism as they desire complete independence, an aim which Bao Dai has been unable to achieve to a satisfactory degree. There are Viet Nam forces fighting under General de Lattre who have recently earned his fullest praise, but it has not been made known whether it was possible to raise the eight divisions which it was planned to establish by the end of this year.

The Viet Minh is still leading as regards tactics and mobility, its regular troops being heavily supported by guerillas. The Viet Minh have obviously many supporters in the French-held territories which are nominally ruled by Bao Dai. They firmly control big areas in the northern, central and southern parts of the country, and are said to have increased their regular divisions from three to six. These are equipped with Chinese arms, drilled by Chinese instructors and are said to have their bases beyond the frontier. The Communists have now consolidated their control over the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam." The Indo-Chinese Communist Party, which was dissolved in the autumn of 1950, was re-born early this year as the new Laodong (Labour) Party.

There has been much speculation about the possibility of Chinese intervention in the Indo-Chinese struggle. Chinese have completed a two hundred mile rail connection to the Vietnamese frontier, and are said to have three divisions stationed at the border. If Peking decided to enter Viet Nam, it is thought they could face General de Lattre's forces within a fortnight in the Red River Delta. However, this eventuality can only be reckoned with in the event of a total breakdown of the presently conducted Korean armistice negotiations.

WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies, M.P.

MEMBERS interested in the Far East are wondering what new approaches will be made to its problems by Mr. Churchill's Government. Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East warns us in the recent ECAFE Survey that the wave of prosperity in the countries of Asia is superficial. These improvements are based on the Korean War and rearmament in the world. If, as we all hope, there is a real prospect of peace in Korea, then what can Mr. Churchill do to implement the Colombo Plan? The new Government has to face the stark reality of the armament programme. Mr. Churchill is Defence Minister, and in the Lobbies I find Members wondering how far he will be prepared to push the Colombo Plan against the emphasis on the importance of rearmament.

With a polished ease Mr. Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary, opened the two-day Debate on Foreign Affairs on November 19. Nothing new came out of it and if one "collected the voices" there was little to tell between the Opposition and the Government that was novel. Mr. Eden resisted the temptation to make a Grand Tour of the world by dealing with major topics. He gave particular attention to Germany, Persia and Egypt after setting a sombre tone to the whole of our discussions. It was not so much the multiplicity of problems on the Foreign Office desk as the depth and width of the forbidding chasm that separates East and West, both mentally and physically, that he considered disheartening for the present and alarming for the future.

Mrs. Barbara Castle, Labour, and others had pressed the Foreign Secretary at Question Time for a British representative to be at the armistice talks at Panmunjom and in the Debate the truce talks were under fire from the Labour benches. Mrs. Castle felt that the demands of the negotiators seemed to have changed with bewildering frequency. In the Lobbies I found fear that the talk of Korean atrocities would be an excuse for an intensification of the war. However, at the end of the two-day Debate the prospects of peace in Korea seemed much brighter. Nods of approval greeted the Foreign Secretary's remarks when he said:

"For our part, we earnestly hope that these fresh proposals will lead to the early conclusion of a secure and genuine armistice and the restoration of peace in Korea. If that is achieved, the way will then be open for discussions of a political settlement of the Korean problem, and then, perhaps, for a wider settlement of other problems in the Far East."

Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Colonial Secretary, flew to Malaya to assess the state of almost open war that exists there. After these years of fighting the rebels in Malaya are as strong as ever and it seems that all the measures

that have been taken by the Government and the Military have failed to put them down. Figures of the casualties in Malaya are rising and this is already having a serious effect upon both rubber and tin production. Members feared that the new turn of events in Malaya would have devastating effects upon Britain's Balance of Payments problem and the raw materials situation. When the Colonial Secretary returns there will be a demand for a full debate on Malaya.

Mr. Ellis Smith, Labour, tabled a Motion on Second Reading of the Japanese Treaty of Peace Bill, to move, "That the Bill be read a second time upon this day six months." While this Motion is signed by only fourteen Labour backbenchers, it expresses the feelings of a large number of M.P.s. The formula which is used to oppose the Bill implies, too, that there might be a Division in the House when the matter comes up for debate. There are obvious differences between Labour's front and back benches over this Treaty.

I found on both sides of the floor a fear that the vague generalities of the treaty are not enough to guarantee fair competition in the future. While America is convinced that Japan must be given freedom to develop her economy, members wonder how this can be done without unfair injuries to British trade. It is thought that Japan must have adequate outlets in China and S.E. Asia, but the "hot war" in the Far East prevents a balanced expansion of Japanese trade to her natural outlets.

I have discussed with trade union M.P.s the difficulty of getting, in the near future, any parity of working conditions between us and Japan. Some of them think that a more rapid industrialisation of the Far East is called for. Realistically, a number of members have said that the nature and extent of Japanese competition will depend, not upon the Peace Treaty, but on various economic factors, and principally upon whether world trade expands and whether Japan can get goods from China in exchange for Japanese goods. These M.P.s want a frequent exchange of information and contact with Japan on both the manufacturers' and the trade unions' side. The difficulty of real trade union organisation in the Japanese pottery industry was pointed out to me by a member who showed me a recent copy of the Monthly Circular of Mitsubishi which indicated that in the ceramic industry in 1930 the number of workers per factory was 6.14 when there were 6,435 factories. In 1950 it was 13.7 workers per factory and the number of factories 3,739. The small number of workers per factory in Japanese industry make it extremely difficult to organise Trade Unionism on anything like British lines in Japan.

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN

An American point of View

By Marc T. Greene

IT is regrettable indeed that things have reached a point at which the first consideration in most political moves must be expediency. Expediency, rather than moral considerations, and always concerned with defence against Russian threats and menaces and possible sudden and unanticipated acts. This is especially the case in the Far East. The Korean business leaves no one in doubt of that. And so it is clear that Western influence requires the co-operation of a Japan that shall be, not a docile militarily-occupied and militarily-governed dissatisfied subordinate, but a self-respecting, industrially stable and economically sound nation.

That is the answer to the objections, to the sneers and the jeers about making alliances with people who yesterday were bitter foes. Viewing the position realistically, it must be seen that we have no choice. Japan, like Germany, must be either for us or against us. To hold either in continued subjection as a conquered foe, even admittedly a very ruthless foe, is merely to run the risk of finding either, or both, presently a foe once more.

It is all very well to urge that neither the Germans nor the Japanese have "learned their lesson." Perhaps they have not, but immediate realistic considerations transcend that. We are now in the process of trying to build up a defence that shall ensure us a reasonable security. If we do not succeed in doing so we shall exist in a constant state of apprehension and instability, with military expenditures requiring more and more of our national and individual means, with life itself becoming less and less worth living because of the necessity of unrelaxing vigilance.

It is clear that the world cannot go on that way, and that the voluntary grouping against the potential antagonist must be as strong as we can make it, also—hardly less important—as willing. It cannot be willing in the case of beaten and humiliated foes unless their self-respect is restored, memories of humiliation removed so far as possible, and economy rehabilitated.

The measures taken so far, in the case of both Japan and Germany, have been measures to that end, or to be quite frank, measures of expediency for our own benefit as much as for theirs. Even the release of war-prisoners or criminal suspects, like the recent removal of more than 5,000 Japanese from the "purge-list," is a move along such lines. But the most important move of all is the one to re-establish economic strength, to make the conquered and economically shattered country sound once more, and to return to it the self-respect that will make it a willing instead of a forced ally and so a far more dependable one.

General MacArthur said to this writer, in Tokyo in February 1950, discussing the criticism in the United States of too much leniency toward the Japanese, "We had either to lift them up or to let them perish."

Nor was it really as simple as that. Had we not "lifted them up," had we abandoned them as being beyond the pale of civilisation, somebody else would have taken over the job, and that somebody would have been Russia.

The strength of Japanese economy, like that of England, consists in producing for export. American policy, then, must stress the revival of this trade. But this gives rise to immediate complaints, especially from British Dominions, particularly from Australia. It is likely that Japan will come again into the Dominion markets, though a tariff barrier can always be set up, and that she will become once more an economic rival.

Communist expansion has to be resisted along economic, as well as military, lines. A permanently weakened Japanese economy with its resultant poverty, discontent and sullen resentment would be exactly to Russian liking, constituting the best possible field for Communist exploitation. That must, above all things, be averted. Japan, to be an ally with the West, must be economically sound. The policy of Japanese conservatives, friendly to the West, is "the construction of strong trade-bonds and subsequent economic recovery which will establish a barrier against Communist exploitation of Asian nationalist sentiment, while implementing the West long-range objectives." This policy so far has resulted in trade agreements with several Asian countries, including Indo-China, Siam and Burma. South America, too, is expected to be an important—perhaps the most important—field for Japanese export-trade expansion.

In 1948 America decided to discontinue removals of Japanese industrial machinery as reparations, appreciating rather belatedly the obvious fact that economic recovery in the Far East would be best served by a Japan that should be the "factory of Asia." But this brought protests from various directions, especially the Philippines and Australia. The former, still demanding and receiving vast sums from the United States earmarked for reconstruction but to a considerable extent finding their ways elsewhere, clamoured for reparations from Japan. Australia insisted upon some insurance "against a revival of Japanese export-trade of a sort that would again threaten soundly-conducted British industries by ruinous competition from inferior Japanese manufactures dumped at a fraction of the cost of production under improper standards." Incidentally,

this clamour from Australia is a trifle naive inasmuch as Japan used to be among the most important of her wool customers.

With considerably more reason might come manifestations of apprehension from England in respect of her South-East Asian markets which unquestionably are in danger from Japanese export expansion. Japanese industrial leaders are already agitating for the end of the American-inspired eight-hour day as "under existing conditions unrealistic," and that means, of course, increased output at the cost of what, from a Western viewpoint, are sub-standard working conditions. Zaibatsu methods, the cartel-system, etc., will all very likely be restored in Japan if the Mitsubishi, Mitsui, and so forth, heads find the shaping of industrial conditions once more in their hands.

Yet it is certain that all these dangers have been taken into consideration before restoring so much economic as well as political freedom to the Japanese. Because it is absolutely necessary, as we have seen, that the future Japan should be not only sound, but strong economically, and the potential dangers of that have to be faced. America herself has led the way by increasing pre-war annual Japanese imports from \$250 million to \$400 million, importing, mostly through private channels, raw silk, tinned fish, copper products, scrap steel, chemicals, cement, porcelain wares, a large variety of novelties, and toys.

One of the outstanding questions in the minds of most people who wonder what eventually will come of all this restoration of power, privilege and prestige to former enemies, is what the moral reaction of the Japanese will be to their sudden change of status from a conquered and militarily-occupied foe to a virtual ally.

Some observers lately in Japan commented whimsically that it looked as if both conquered and conquerors were trying to show how sorry they were that it all happened. It may be that now the Japanese will be convinced that the Americans are "so sorry." But it is more likely that they will be convinced that the Americans, the United

Nations, cannot under existing conditions do without their support in the East. Concluding themselves to be essential to the success of Western policy in the East, it is hardly to be expected that the Japanese will not once again begin to reassume something of the assurance, the "cockiness," that used to characterise their attitude toward the West both socially and diplomatically.

Indeed, there are signs of this already. The Press, once subservient and obsequious, now begins to make "demands." If the morale of the Japanese people has been greatly strengthened by the peace treaty, by the exemption from reparations, by other concessions rarely made to a conquered people and especially a people whose methods of war-making so far departed from "civilised" precedent, there has also been encouraged a tendency to discover a possibility of succeeding in further demands. Thus the Japanese Press already commences to bewail the "disruption of our great empire," and the "depriving us of our productive colonies." The Press, having been granted more and more freedom of expression under the MacArthur policy, now appears to function without restraint of any kind, and the real sentiments of the Japanese regarding the West, together with renewed possibilities of a Far Eastern hegemony, are again being disclosed.

There is rather more than a hint that the Japanese attitude is going to be: "You need us just as badly as we need you, which puts us in a position to make terms." Out of this attitude is fairly certain to grow, sooner or later, an official demand for the return of some of the colonies, especially the Pacific islands which were so valuable to the Japanese in the fishing industry.

Expediency, as we have said, has compelled us to yield more, perhaps, than under normal conditions we should have done. The Japanese are the kind of people to make all possible capital out of that. It is far from certain that future relations with them will be free of difficulties. However, under existing world conditions, and especially Far Eastern conditions, there was no other course to follow.

WHITE AUSTRALIA

By John Stephen

THE famous or notorious—depending on the point of view—White Australian Policy means simply enough that emigrants to Australia must be white or very near white. The coloured person, pure stock or possessing a predominance of colour is barred from settlement. This rigid policy of the exclusion of the coloured peoples has been the cause of much heart-burning and bitter feeling. Before World War II, when the whites held sway and

power over large areas of the East, the White Australian Policy was rarely heard of. Now, with the whole of the East resurgent and the white powers ousted from authority the question of who should and who should not be allowed to emigrate to the Antipodes is one that is in the minds of Asians.

Australia, which politically includes Tasmania, is a vast country having an area of roughly three million square

miles. This is approximately thirty times larger than the United Kingdom. The population is in the neighbourhood of nine million which is roughly one-sixth of the people inhabiting the United Kingdom. Although a substantial area of Australia is practically desert and is uninhabitable the remaining parts are still extremely large. Further, there is no reason to believe, with the aid of modern science and capital, that areas now useless cannot eventually be reclaimed.

To the north of Australia, and not too far away, lie the Asiatic landmasses of Japan, China, Indonesia, Indo-China, Siam, Burma, India and Pakistan. And all of them seethe with enormous populations whose birth rate always exceeds the death rate by a considerable margin. In the Indian peninsula alone the population is roughly 400 million people, or forty to fifty times the number of people on the Australian continent.

In order to maintain her independence against aggression, Australia estimates that her population must be boosted to 30 million. Actually, it is doubtful whether this figure would prove sufficient. Without extensive aid from the United States of America, 60 to 100 million would be a better target. And many years must elapse until even the very low figure of 30 million people is reached.

The objections of the Australian Government to the emigration of coloured people, apart from the laboured question of the colour bar, are based on the following considerations:

Although nobody will deny that culture exists in the East, perhaps more so than in the West, not many people appreciate that Eastern culture may be different from Western culture. This difference may be so great as to make a juxtaposition of the two cultures almost impossible without a gradual submergence of one or the other. To the person who does not know the East this argument may seem absurd but it is nevertheless a fact. The majority of Asians one meets in Europe are merely wearing Western ways of living like a cloak, forced on them by circumstances. The cloak is shed with a sigh of relief once they return to their own countries.

The fertility of the Asian is prodigious and entirely heedless of economic conditions. Religion has something to do with this. Among the middle and lower classes contraceptives and planned families are unknown. Copulation, to millions and millions of people, is the one form of pleasure that they can afford. Again, with the advance of modern medicine, hygiene and administrative economic planning, the natural checks to surplus population figures, such as epidemics and famines, have been largely removed.

A combination of objections one and two, if Asian emigration were allowed, would in a very short space of time provide the Australian continent with a large low-

grade population. This, if possible, the Australians wish to avoid. The target is neither solely quantity or quality. It is a judicious mixture of both.

Australian Government propaganda to attract suitable European emigrants in large numbers is very active. Rather naturally, the Australian Government would prefer British emigrants but these are not forthcoming in the right numbers. Further, a good proportion of those that do emigrate to Australia return to their homeland within a year or two. What is the reason for this? Australia is under-populated and requires British stock. Britain is over-populated and could, perhaps, spare as many as twenty million people. There is work and food in plenty in the Commonwealth. The acute housing problem in Australia is not the real under-lying answer. It lies in the fact that the average Australian does not want emigration or, from his point of view, immigration. The average working Australian does not seem to make the newcomer welcome, for the emigrant is a recognisable threat to his easy way of life.

Thus the Government policy of emigration in strength is not endorsed privately by the citizen of Australia. Hence, the emigration figures for citizens of the United Kingdom are not satisfactory and the Australian Government have had to seek other sources of emigration. These have been found among various nationals of the Baltic States; displaced and homeless people who jump at the chance of starting a fresh life somewhere out of Europe. Such peoples, unable to speak the English language and inured to hardship and tribulation for years, settle in Australia very happily. Rough treatment and other difficulties, which the average Briton would not tolerate, are completely ignored. They are also armoured by the fact that they do not speak English. By the time they do they have secured a niche for themselves.

That continental Europeans should be able to find a satisfactory home in Australia and the British emigrant not, is something to think about. The answer is co-ordination. If one hundred thousand British people are to emigrate to Australia per year they must prepare at the Australian end to receive them. It is of no use providing them merely with work and food. They must be also provided with houses in which they and their families can stay. In other words, they must have homes and not be left to find their own quarters among an unsympathetic populace.

Meanwhile, the Asian nations, alive with new-born prestige and power, look at the thin trickle of emigrants to white Australia with impatience and impotence. But how long will such impotence last? With the exception of Canada, which is outside the orbit of Asian influence, there is no country in the world that could absorb large masses of people as should Australia.

CHARTER FOR PLANTATION WORKERS

By Eric Ford

WHAT may well prove to be the first step towards a new era for plantation workers in the East has been taken by the International Labour Office through its Committee on Work on Plantations. Although the Committee is, as yet, only at the beginning of its labours, it is nevertheless possible to indicate the lines upon which it is approaching its task. It has appointed two sub-committees, devoted respectively to Manpower and Employment, and Welfare and Industrial Relations.

The Manpower and Employment sub-committee adopted a number of recommendations covering such problems as labour recruitment and methods of engagement. In this connection the sub-committee felt that a prime object of policy in regard to manpower should be an attempt to equate the supply of and demand for labour while ensuring that workers are attracted to plantations by the satisfactory conditions prevailing there rather than by the urge of economic necessity. It also called for the abolition of recruitment by professional "recruiters" in favour of direct recruitment by plantation employers themselves.

Another resolution dealt with abuses which arise from the fact that workers are often recruited from areas far removed from the eventual place of work. To prevent such abuses it was suggested that a model written contract should be devised to afford adequate protection to plantation workers. Too often, under present conditions, the contract rests on custom or word of mouth alone.

Perhaps the most concrete of the four resolutions was that dealing with hours of work, rest periods and holidays. It specified a normal working day of eight hours for plantation factory workers; maximum total annual hours for field workers (in view of varying climatic conditions) with a weekly limit; a six-hour day for children under 14; no work for children under 12; no night work for women; a weekly rest period and paid holidays.

Finally this sub-committee adopted a resolution on wages calling for the fixing of minimum rates through collective agreement.

Social problems of considerable urgency faced the sub-committee on Welfare and Industrial Relations, notably in connection with living conditions, housing, sanitation, health, education, social security, labour relations and trade union activities.

A feature of a subsequent resolution on housing was the call for minimum building standards including veranda space, cooking, washing and storage facilities, water supply

and sanitation. Whilst recognising that accommodation is the responsibility of the employer, the sub-committee felt that Governments should formulate national building programmes with the object of achieving these minimum standards without delay.

Of particular importance to the future status of plantation workers was the recommendation on education and vocational training. This called for Government action to establish and maintain adequate schooling facilities for children of plantation workers as well as opportunities for further education for those above school age, with special reference to employment prospects in the country concerned. Anti-illiteracy and mass-education campaigns among the indigenous populations should be extended to the imported plantation workers.

A far-reaching recommendation on health and social security called for free medical services by employers where State services are not available to plantation workers. It suggested that employers should provide, either free or at reduced prices, medicinal foods to offset nutritional deficiencies. Other suggestions in this recommendation included free school meals; contributory pension schemes; legislation to cover employment injuries and maternity protection.

On the question of industrial relations the sub-committee felt that plantation workers should be encouraged to organise themselves into "free, independent and democratically-controlled unions." It also urged the need for a Government system of inspection for plantations.

Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Ceylon, Cuba, France, India, Indonesia, Liberia, The Netherlands, Pakistan, The Philippines, Portugal and the United Kingdom are represented on the committee, in addition to U.S.A. and Viet-Nam observers. Whilst it can be admitted that individual Governments and employers have already achieved certain of these objectives and have convinced themselves of the long-term value of such measures, there is a vital need for an all-out drive on an international basis for a general raising of living standards among workers throughout the plantation areas which cover so large a part of the East.

Those who appreciate the importance of these aims as a means for ensuring the maximum development of the vast resources of the area will watch with interest the implementation of the proposals offered by the Committee on Work on Plantations. The Committee, which remains in being, has cleared the ground and set the pace. It remains for the Governments concerned to see that this initial effort is not wasted.

THE HAPPY TONGAS

By D. England

GREETINGS from the King were conveyed this year in a signed message to Queen Salote Tupou of Tonga on the fiftieth anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship between Great Britain and the island Kingdom of Tonga.

Tonga is one of those almost unbelievable lands today, remote from political turmoil, whose people live almost idyllic, carefree lives amid beauty unsullied by industrial development.

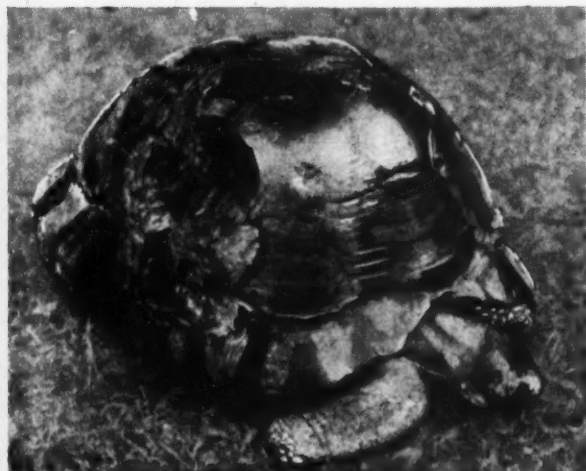
A firm ally in two world wars, Tonga, the Pacific's only independent Kingdom, has an area of about 250 square miles with a population of 45,000. It consists of about 150 islands, but the biggest is only 25 miles by 10 miles. The Queen has ruled wisely; the country's laws are notably well administered; there is a free and efficiently run health service; illiteracy is almost unknown; and Tonga is in the fortunate position of balancing its trade. Coconuts and copra, and bananas are valuable items of export, and, in fact, the last year for which figures are available (1948), export values exceeded imports by £15,000, and revenue exceeded expenditure by almost £100,000.

The Tongans are handsome, light-coloured people of magnificent physique, highly cultured and with gracious manners. Many of the men are of almost herculean proportions, and the women are prepossessing and amiable with a flair for coquettish costume.

Queen Salote was only 18 years old when she suc-



Queen Salote at the door-way of her palace



The tortoise presented to the Chief of the Tongas by Captain Cook in 1777. It was given the chiefly name of Tui Malila, and still lives in the grounds of the Royal Palace

ceeded her father. She was educated in Auckland, New Zealand, and her son (who is now Premier of Tonga) is a graduate in Arts and Law of Sydney University, and shares his mother's interest in education, public health and music. During her reign education has become compulsory and free; special attention has been paid to the education of girls, and welfare services have been extended. In nothing has the advance of civilisation been more striking than in the sphere of education. There are over 100 primary schools in the islands, and a native college where, in addition to the usual sciences and arts, such commercial subjects as shorthand are taught.

The modern kingdom of Tonga came into being in 1845 when Queen Salote's great-great-grandfather consolidated it by conquest. The present monarch has done much to strengthen the unity of the country, and early settled a dispute between two rival religious bodies which separate her people. There is a legislative assembly of 26 members, the representatives of the nobles and of the people (seven of each) being elected triennially. Since

1900 British agents have been stationed at Nukualofa, the capital, supervising foreign affairs and advising on financial and other domestic matters.

Amongst Tonga's many interesting features, are megalithic remains of a lost civilisation, and its oldest

inhabitant—also with hundreds of years behind him. This is "Tui Malila," meaning "King" or "Ruler," now battered and blind, but highly venerated. He is the survivor of two tortoises brought by Captain Cook when he touched there!

THE BACKGROUND TO FAMINE

By J. F. Stirling

IN the last 200 years India has experienced 22 famines. This figure does not include "unofficial" famines like the Bengal tragedy of 1943. At the height of this disaster, when corpses were being swept like garbage from the streets of Calcutta, the Government insisted that there was no famine, but only a "temporary scarcity of edible food grains." Recently, a debate in Washington, on the expediency—or otherwise—of sending food to India, advertised the fact that another "temporary scarcity" had occurred. Now famine conditions are reported from Assam. Does this mean that famine is a natural affliction in India, like malaria or sun-stroke? Malthusians assert that it is, because India is already living at the margin of subsistence, and famine is a "natural check" which adjusts the population to its food resources. Since India has a very high birth rate, the check of famine will be applied frequently. This theory is discredited in Europe, but is still held to apply to the backward areas of the world.

Those who have merely travelled across India by train or aircraft will know that it is still a country of vast, uninhabited spaces. This impression is borne out by the facts. In 1947, an official survey established that the total area of the Provinces of India, excluding the Princely States, was 402 million acres. Of this, only 175 million acres, or 44 per cent., was actually under cultivation. The remaining 227 million acres was classified as follows: 60 million acres of forest; 63 million acres "not available for cultivation"; 69 million acres uncultivated; and 35 million acres fallow. Taking only the uncultivated land, this 69 million acres gives India a reserve amounting to 40 per cent. of the existing tillage. Nor is this the final limit to the expansion of agriculture. Land described as "not available for cultivation" consists of hill tracts (mainly in South India), desert regions (in the North-West), and barren lands. How much of the hill tracts can be brought into use by terracing, as in China and Indonesia, and how much of the desert can be fertilised by irrigation, will not be known until the attempt is made. At present, the total irrigated area in India accounts for only 23 per cent. of the cultivated area. As for "fallow lands," this definition includes fields which are left fallow for as long as ten years. The fact that agricultural land is left unused so long in a starving country is striking evidence of the paralysis of Indian farming.

It is clear that India is nowhere near the limit of her resources of agricultural land. The possible extension of her cropped area ranges between 40 per cent. of the present area, and 67 per cent., if one regards only half the barren and fallow lands as being cultivable. Nor does this estimate include the large area of the Princely States, or take into account any increased yield from existing tillage.

The paradox that India can be self-sufficient in food, and yet hovers on the brink of famine, is well known to Indian leaders. Frantic efforts are being made to increase production on the one hand, and to diminish consumption on the other. The "Grow More Food" campaign, which aimed at self-sufficiency by 1952, is now linked with the "Miss a Meal" movement, which exhorts Indians, for their "spiritual and physical benefit," to forgo one meal a day. The tragedy is that millions of Indians have no choice of forgoing a meal, but are savagely dieted by poverty. They have been truly depicted as "nearly 300 millions of people living a life of chronic starvation and of the most abject ignorance . . . living because they were born into the world, and dying because life could no longer be kept in the body." It is doubtful if there is any human being with a smaller stake in life than the landless peasant of India.

The conditions of these peasants—a large and ever-increasing class—was investigated in a recent type-study carried out by the Government of India. One village chosen for the study was Vandalur, in Madras, a province where the standard of living is higher than the rest of India. In this small village of 1,800 souls, there were 21 castes. The landless labourers belonged to the lowest castes, and made up 47 per cent. of the agricultural population. There were two types of labour contract in Vandalur—"attached" work and "casual" work. The attached workers received a monthly wage, a mid-day meal of gruel, and a pair of dhoties once a year. The casual labourer found work where he could, and was paid daily wages, with or without food. The attached workers earned Rs. 96 (£7) a year in cash, and their total annual income, including payments in kind, came to Rs. 195 (£14) a year. The casual labourer received 12 annas (12d.) a day in cash, and about 4 annas worth of gruel. But since he was employed, on an average, for only 200 days in the year, either

in agriculture or in "coolie" work outside the fields, he was worse off than the attached worker.

For the whole class of agricultural worker, the total earnings per labourer ranged between Rs. 101 and Rs. 200 (£7 10s. and £15) a year. In practice, each family pooled its resources, which averaged Rs. 323 (£24) a year for a family of four. Out of these pitiable earnings, 75 per cent. was spent on food (mainly coarse cereals), 12 per cent. on clothing (dhoti or sari), and 2 per cent. on rent. "Regarding lighting," says the Report, "often the worker has only a small kerosene lamp, but sparing does he light it" (*sic*). These statistics refer not to some vanished Dark Age, but to the year of grace 1950. They afford an explanation for the low productivity of labour in India, for the primitive methods of agriculture, for its failure to respond to the "laws" of supply and demand. On £15 a year, the struggle for survival leaves no energy for thrift, zeal, enterprise, and the other solid virtues. The landless labourer regards agriculture not as a "gainful occupation," but a form of drudgery endured only because there is no alternative. Luckily for his exploiters, he is rarely touched by "isms," except fatalism.

What of the class of small landowners and tenant farmers? In theory, they should be ready to adopt new techniques, since they might expect to profit from any increased output. The evidence collected in Vandalur, though by no means typical of India, points to a different conclusion. In this village, 147 cultivators owned or rented the land they tilled. Of these, 82 farmed holdings of less than 2 acres, and 49 had fields of between 2 and 5 acres. The Report points out that because of the uneconomic size of holdings, many of the small landowners had to work as labourers in the fields of others. A high proportion of them were in debt. As for the tenant farmers, nine out of ten were obliged to hire out their labour. The reason is not far to seek, for their tenancy was on the share-crop basis, with half of the produce going to the landlord.

So the class which should be the most enterprising in the rural population is, in India, stifled by poverty and landlordism. No capital reserves can be set aside from a farm of 3 or 4 acres. There is no incentive even for cheap improvements, like better seeds, since at least half the increase in output is taken by the landlord. Over both tenant and landowner hangs the shadow of the moneylender, ready to extort his fabulous interest, or to foreclose on his principal.

In spite of many threats, the Government has made little headway against the landlords and moneylenders. The Government recognises that the present system has "stifled the enterprise of all classes concerned," and that the large number of intermediaries between the Government and the cultivator is responsible for the low state of agriculture. In six out of the nine major Provinces, laws have been drafted against the landlords. In every case, further action is held up by the question of compensation.

Under the Constitution of India, there can be no sequestration of property without payment. The size of the problem can be judged from the fact that in Uttar Pradesh (the former United Provinces), the laws, if made effective, will extend to 2 million landlords and 42 million acres. In Madras the reform will affect 14 million acres, and in Hyderabad, the Jagir area comprises about 6,500 villages, about one-third the total area of the State. Under present conditions, it seems that nothing less than a revolution will shift the swarms of zamindars, malguzars, jagirdars, tenure-holders, thakedars, inamdars and mufidars who batten on Indian agriculture. As for the moneylenders, the full extent of their operations may never be known. Ever since their usual rates of interest of up to 40 per cent. were declared illegal, they have operated more and more "under the counter." But figures published this year by the Bombay Government reveal that there are now 25,200 licensed moneylenders in the Province, whose authorised loans in one year (1948-49) amounted to Rs. 108 million.

The relationship between land reform and planning—a point overlooked by Fourth Point and Colombo experts—was defined recently by the Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras. He stated his opinion that "no agricultural plan would achieve its objects unless the basic problem of land ownership was solved." Tractors and fertilizers alone will not solve India's problems. Land reform itself is only the first stage in a gigantic task of rehabilitation, which must at the same time release the peasants from debt, provide alternative credit, teach millions to read and write, and raise the standard of health in the villages.

It is a problem of vast proportions—to lift three hundred and fifty million people from hunger and ignorance—and some planners find the problem too big for their tidy blue-prints. They resign themselves to the situation, and suggest that India instead reduces her population so as to manage on the present output of her fields. But humbler folk are showing what can be done even under present conditions. An example was given this year by a farmer in Salem District, South India, who produced 12,000 lbs. of "wet" paddy from one acre of soil. The corrected yield of 8,000 lbs. of rice is more than the average yield of 5,900 lbs. in Spain—the highest in the world. Here is another answer to the theory that India is at the limit of her productive powers, and must expect her "surplus" population to be decimated by famine.

To produce an exact figure, as some have done, for the population that India can support in comfort, is a statistical parlour game of little real value. What is obvious from the available evidence is that India can support millions more than she is doing, at a higher standard of living. If this should happen, it will also be found, as in Europe, that a higher standard of living results in a lower birthrate. There is evidence of this from India. While the general birthrate is in the region of 36 or 37 per thousand, in Central Calcutta, where the living standard

is less primitive than in rural India, the average birthrate for the first five months of this year was 22 per thousand. This can usefully be compared with the birthrate of 21 per thousand in Poplar. Indians are not more fecund by nature than any other nationality

Nor has Nature, by some irrevocable curse, doomed

India to famine. Anyone who has glimpsed the vastness of this land, and seen the gigantic scale of her rivers and forests, her mountains and plains, will know that Nature has destined India not for famine, but prosperity. The productive forces are there to be liberated, but before that, Indians must free themselves

CURRENT NEPALESE AFFAIRS

By Col. R. G. Leonard

AFTER a few sulphurous months the Nepalese political volcano has erupted again. Failing to get their own way, the Indian-sponsored Congress members of the balanced Cabinet, going behind the Prime Minister's back, handed in their resignations direct to the King through their leader, B. P. Koirala. The Royal House having been eclipsed from all temporal power for a century until the recent innovations, it is not surprising that King Tribhubana demanded that the Congress Ministers should remain in office until re-arrangements could be made. Koirala seized the opportunity to release political prisoners.

There is, of course, no doubt but that Koralala informed the King that he was not prepared to continue giving Congress support to the dynasty as long as his rival, the hereditary Maharajah remained as Prime Minister with the backing of the powerful Rana family and that he demanded his expulsion. The result was an interview with the King after which Sir Mohun Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana announced his resignation.

The latest information is that Koirala's elder brother, M. P. Koirala, who led the Congress party during the insurrection and stood back in favour of his brother in the first Cabinet, is now being asked by the King to become Prime Minister and to form a new Cabinet in which his Congress Party is to be given a two-thirds majority over the remaining Ranas. It is also reported that he is demanding the portfolio of Foreign Affairs in addition. As he has consistently expressed his views that Gurkhas should not serve in the British Army such an appointment can hardly be viewed complacently by the present British Government. Although the British Press gives them little publicity, Gurkhas form the largest proportion of the army in Malaya where they have been continuously employed in operations against the bandits for four uninterrupted years. They are still serving there without the prospect their British comrades have of being withdrawn to peace stations or service in their own country. That they have no complaints for public ears is nothing new to those who have served with or alongside them, but nevertheless it is something that the Commonwealth can acknowledge with gratefulness.

Perhaps in times when Persia and Egypt can flaunt

a once powerful Commonwealth it is not surprising to see an Indian-sponsored Nepalese Government no longer prepared to give the unstinted support that was so unceasing and outstanding for a century and a half throughout the Indian Mutiny and two World Wars.

The Congress Party has not the support of the hill Gurkhas who form over three-quarters of the population of the country. These martial tribes have never been interested in politics and those of the Central and Western Provinces (the Gurungs and Magars), cut off from them by the Central Valley of Katmandu, have shown less interest in current affairs than their fellows of the East (the Rais and Limbus). Nevertheless, this is an element that will eventually have a very big say in the permanent future of this mountainous realm.

One paper has reported that the Nepalese Army owes allegiance to the King and not to any political party and so will not wish to interfere. This sounds like wishful thinking if not propaganda. Only a short time ago the Army owed its allegiance to the all-powerful Maharajah (hereditary Prime Minister). With the establishment of the new Government some months ago, they were informed that under the new circumstances this no longer held, and were encouraged to believe this by long-overdue reforms being announced by the King and hurriedly introduced by his Congress satellites. Being hillmen, although of the more inlying districts, it remains to be seen if they have a desire to reinforce the Congress Party which is dubbed "foreign" by all hillmen as opposed to the Rana family to which they have owed allegiance for generations and whom they considered in the past were appointed by God.

The Nepalese Army is not large and the garrison of the Valley accounts for the greater portion. Units in the provinces are inferior in training, arms and everything else whilst they are very much inclined to regard themselves as the personal troops of their local Governor. Policing outside the Valley is left to these provincial battalions. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that unrest still continues in some outlying districts whilst in the East the small Limbu tribe continues to give considerable trouble.

What the outcome of this last eruption will be remains to be seen. India has forced a senior Civil Servant on King Tribhubana as his Adviser assisted by two more

of this Service, and will undoubtedly do her utmost to "absorb" Nepal. What the outlook of that country as a whole will be to this pressure is doubtful in the extreme. A race predominately Mongolian, seeing its centuries-old independence threatened, is as much likely to turn to Mongolian help as to Aryan domination. Any unwise move by India could only too easily lead to very serious dissatisfaction, if not worse, in the large number of Gurkha battalions she still maintains.

THE PLIGHT OF THE UNTOUCHABLES

By Bernard Fonseca

WITH a dramatic and defiant gesture Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, acknowledged leader of 60 million Untouchables of India, now politely referred to as the Scheduled Castes, strode from the Chamber of the Indian Parliament at New Delhi after resigning from the office of Law Minister in the administration.

He issued a statement in which he made various charges against the Government, covering its management of foreign as well as home affairs. But the charge that must be taken most seriously is the accusation that "the same old tyranny, the same old oppression, the same old discrimination which existed before exists now, and perhaps in a worse form." In tackling economic problems without redressing ancient inequalities between man and man, he felt the Government were trying "to build a palace on a dunghheap."

The real cause of his leaving was the shelving of the new Hindu Code Bill, an enactment which would, officially and outwardly at least, have abolished many anomalies of the personal laws of the Hindus in relation to such things as marriage, divorce, succession and ownership of property. These are admittedly, in the view of most progressive Indians, out of date and out of place in a democratic society, involving inequalities between castes and sexes obnoxious to the reformer, but while the Indian legislature has got to the stage of drafting legislation, its enactment has been held up by the forces of orthodoxy. There have been demonstrations and protests, the threat of a cleavage in the Congress Party due to the defection of caste Hindus, and it has been suggested that the Indian President has strong views on the subject of the Bill and might conceivably have come into conflict with the legislature over its passage.

Ambedkar's departure comes a few months after the man who might be called his opposite number in the Pakistan Government made a dramatic exit. Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, the Untouchable member of the Pakistan Cabinet, it will be recalled, left for India, resigned and made a number of charges of discrimination against the Government he was leaving. The two events together suggest that the people who have been downtrodden for

It is not difficult to conjecture that the immediate solution, forced on Nepal by her southern neighbour, will be a Congress Ministry. How long this will last, however, is a risk that few Insurance Companies would be prepared to cover. Not one of the Congress Ministers has any considerable experience and the country owes them no loyalty; the Rana family has the experience and ability and is respected throughout the hills; not one of the hill tribes has a representative in the Government.

many centuries cannot achieve emancipation by a stroke of the pen or an enactment of the legislature but that a long process of education will have to be gone through before the Untouchables can feel that they have achieved complete equality with others.

To some extent Ambedkar is a man with a chip in his shoulder. One cannot help feeling when talking with him that he has been greatly embittered by his experiences in early life and one can understand his feeling. He recalls schooldays when he had to sit as far as he could from his schoolmates in the village classroom.

Later Ambedkar's scholarship attracted the notice of a fine patron—the Gaekwar of Baroda, Sayaji Rao. He sent the young Untouchable abroad to be educated and on his return gave him a job. But, alas, Ambedkar could not get on with his job as he could find nowhere to live. Even Parsis objected to his presence in an hotel.

So he went to live among his own kind in the crowded "chawl" area of Bombay City. He practised law and by his advocacy of the cause of his people he obtained separate electorates for them in the new political set-up to be inaugurated after 1935. Then Gandhi, always the opponent of separate political representation for any community, produced his usual trump card. He started a fast to death and as was to be expected Ambedkar, not wishing to incur the odium that Gandhi's death would bring, had to give in. The Scheduled Castes would vote in general electorates, but there would be a reservation of seats for some of their number. In practice Ambedkar found that the joint electorate system did not always ensure that the Scheduled Castes would be represented by the member of their caste whom they preferred and they were not very pleased with the way things worked out.

Ambedkar's experience as a member of the Viceregal Cabinet during the war gave him the opportunity of working for his downtrodden people. Things had moved since his childhood and the ostracism of those days. City life, the herding of people together in factories, railway carriages and the like, had broken down some of the old barriers. Legislative action had been taken to open the temples to Untouchables in many Provinces and States.

In the atmosphere of mutual backslapping that came

with independence, Ambedkar entered the first ministry of Free India and it was felt that a new era was in sight under leaders who did not believe in old distinctions. The cabinet had two Untouchables and in addition two Muslims and two Christians. The shop window was indeed beautifully dressed. Ambedkar was seen as one of the principal architects of a new constitution which declared untouchability illegal.

But simply giving a minority legal rights does not eradicate social injustice and it was soon made apparent that the evil of caste had been scotched and not killed. The forces of orthodox Hinduism were strong enough to cause the Hindu Code to be shelved. This was a triumph for the high caste.

Yet one cannot help feeling Ambedkar erred in setting too much store by the Hindu Code, so much store

that he resigned over its shelving. The enactment of the Code would not by itself have changed the condition of the backward classes and secured their acceptance as equals of the Caste Hindu. The mistake of looking on paper professions as practical accomplishments is a common one in India. At times the dreamers are shocked into a realisation that things are not what they wish—as for example when three million women declined to give their individual names and so could not be put on the register of voters because of some old-fashioned notion that a woman has no existence apart from her husband.

Educative propaganda over a very long period is wanted to eradicate the caste obsession of the orthodox. And in this cause the labours of Ambedkar and his fellow workers will not be in vain, even if results are deferred and only appear in time to benefit the next generation.

YUNNANESE CITY

By

Bernard Llewellyn

THE city of Kutsing might have had a thousand other names, for it might almost have been a thousand other places. All over China you find cities like Kutsing, encircled by a wall, inhabited by people for whom the clocks seem to tick more slowly than for the rest of the world.

The nearest city to Kutsing that most people have ever heard of is Kunming—the provincial capital at the eastern end of the Burma Road, and the great air terminal of the transport planes which carried their war-time loads over the Hump from India. Kunming is a hundred miles west of Kutsing, and the cities are linked by road and a railway which is the only part that was ever completed of the grandiose plan to link Hanoi and Haiphong in French Indo-China to Suifu on the Yangtse River.

Except during the rains, clouds of dust rise from the wheels of the lorries on the road which snakes its way, like the endless tail of some celestial dragon, from Burma to the heart of Sinkiang. This main highway does not pass through Kutsing city, but turns away by the police checking post opposite a corner of the city wall, in the shadow



Kutsing City Wall

of the hill with the old grey stone ruins of a fort crowning the summit.

The climb up to the ruins used to be a favourite Sunday afternoon trip of mine when I lived in Kutsing. From the top you could look down over the city, at the velvet-covered slopes of the hills that lay about the edges of the 6,000 ft. tableland, at the gravemounds around the wall where lay buried whole generations who had never travelled beyond the horizon, and for whom Kutsing had been the very centre of the world.

Another pleasant stroll was the one along the top of the city wall, with the tiled roofs on one hand and on the other the open vistas of the surrounding country. Here and there were clusters of farmhouses and, linking them with the city gates, narrow trails along which packhorse



The covered stand for the policeman is a good spot for a rest. Trains and human carriers passed on their way to and from the markets.

There was always something to look at from the vantage point of the wall: the women doing the week's wash on big flat stones in the stream; the magpies sunning themselves in crumbling crannies in the wall; the kites, with ragged wings and beady eyes, hovering above the grave-mounds; the courtyards of the old temple which had been converted into a military hospital; the lumbering water-buffaloes who were never in a hurry.

North Gate Street was the main way into the city proper. There was a watchtower over the gate at the end of it and more than one excellent restaurant in its rows of wooden shops. Vendors and pedlars of goods which ranged from soap and cigarettes to cloth shoes and corn on the cob sat by their stalls or hawked their wares among the constant stream of passers-by. At the station end of this street was a memorial stone arch paying tribute to the virtues of some devoted widow or filial offspring, and opposite this was the covered stand for the policeman where the idle sat, and unemployed coolies waited for jobs with their carrying sticks and ropes slung over their shoulders.

On some days there were few idle—as on the day they put up the framework of a new inn on the railway side of the town, and the huge timber beams were raised bodily into position by an army of coolies. Then again, there was often work to be had in the fields, though the amount varied with the season.

For Kutsing lived on the produce from the fertile fields which stretched from the city wall to the horizon of distant blue hills. Rice and beans were the main crops, and provided the landscape with a green covering in the summer and fall. But vegetables and eggs and pork and chicken were brought to the city markets for those with money enough to supplement the basic diet.

A constant movement went on between the city and its surrounding farms. Water-buffaloes not wanted for ploughing pulled carts with roughly shaped wooden wheels which squeaked and groaned to drive the devils from the city streets. Women with nothing to do in the fields brought along home-spun cotton and home-made baskets to sell in the city.

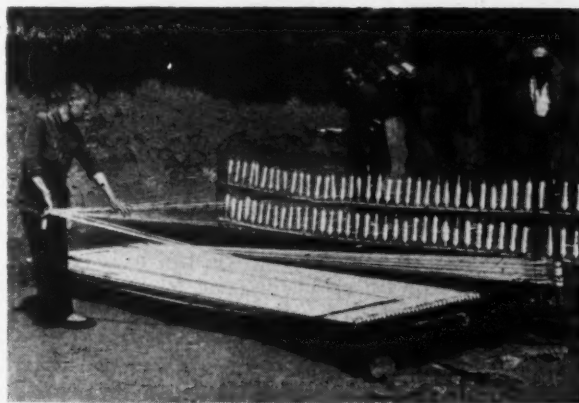
There was no cinema and no theatre in Kutsing but there were always restaurants where people could sit and talk the evenings away, while for those who thrived on mysteries there was always the itinerant fortune-teller. The wealthier inhabitants who owned farms outside the city spent their time between the shops and their beds. Some were opium-smokers and so, too, were many of the poor who had got themselves into hopeless indebtedness through this costly habit.

Fei Hsiao-tung and Chang Chih-i in their fascinating study, *Earthbound China*, blame opium-smoking and expenditure on ceremonials for the impoverishment of so many Yunnanese families. Everyone is entitled to the best possible burial, and large numbers must be invited to the funeral feast, even if the expense to the relative concerned leaves him utterly ruined for the rest of his life.

Kutsing has seen many magnificent funerals with ornate black coffins borne aloft on numerous shoulders and followed by scores of white-turbaned mourners. Some of the graves are fronted with stone tablets, and tufted grasses have grown about the mounds giving them a strange wild beauty.

Some who died had no relatives to mourn their passing. A few coolies with the roughly made wooden boxes roped between them carried the bodies outside the city wall and left them there unburied for the dogs and kites.

Kutsing, as I knew it, was a very ordinary city. Its noises, its smells, its shops, its graves; its people whose rice-straw sandals left a pattern in the dust of its streets—these did not stand out from a million others. It was but a tiny walled-in fragment of the whole that is China.



Yunnanese cotton weavers preparing a warp

FROM ALL QUARTERS

F.A.O. and Asia

Once again the formulation of huge defence programmes in the West has undermined the progress of the FAO in the East. Even the most modest schemes for economic betterment in this area have been slowed down, and as the Director-General of the FAO, Mr. Norris E. Dodd, points out in his yearly report, the progress towards the FAO's aim of adequate levels of nutrition and standards of living for all peoples has been much slower and considerably less than expected. Although during the year there was an increase of 3 per cent. in the total world food output, this must be measured against the world population growth and equal distribution of food, and in this connection although last year's food production increase slightly outstripped the growth of population, it did little to raise nutritional levels in the areas, particularly Asia, where it is most needed. Similarly, international trade failed to narrow the wide gap between consumption levels in different parts of the world.

However, in its technical assistance projects the FAO has a more encouraging report to make. It is now sending its technical experts to many Asian countries, at the request of the governments concerned, and one of the most important schemes in which these experts are engaged is the control of flood water and the inauguration of irrigation schemes in Pakistan. Separated by more than a thousand miles, East and West Pakistan present contrasting problems of land and water use. In the Eastern Province there is too much water during the monsoon flood season for three winter months, followed by an absolute drought of seven to eight months, while in the West the dry lands of the Indus Valley have been so over-irrigated in the past forty years, that the ground water table has risen to within a few feet of the surface, render-

ing the land waterlogged and unproductive. The problem in East Pakistan is complicated by the red silt which the Ganges and Brahmaputra bring down from the Himalayas in the flood. This richly organic mud has for centuries fertilized the fields each winter and to construct channels to run off the flood into the Bay of Bengal would soon cause the soil to become exhausted. FAO specialists consider that there are great development possibilities in this area, once the floods are controlled so that

*Sardar Datar Singh,
Ministry of Food and
Agriculture, New Delhi,
during the opening ses-
sion of the Sixth World
Conference of FAO in
Rome, November 19.*



irrigation water is available in the dry season. West Pakistan, on the other hand, requires a more diversified agriculture than is provided by the cash-crops previously raised in the irrigated areas. The Government faces the problem of readjusting the balance of its economy now separated from that of India. To do this, it must rehabilitate large areas of irrigated farmland and grazing areas, where waterlogging and erosion have reached advanced stages. This project in Pakistan is the largest that the FAO have so far tackled.

Two Painters from Asia

Two interesting one-man shows of modern Asian painting have been held in London, providing a contrast in the way in which two different personalities and artists are succeeding in growing, their roots still in their own ancient traditions, into painters of considerable interest in the contemporary sense.

The Indian artist, Viswanatha Nageshkar, has taken longer than his Pakistani contemporary, Zubeida Agha, to throw off the shackles of an outworn style, long ago decayed into pure formalism. He has had too great a facility and won too many distinctions for his work in the classical manner to have been able to develop his new and more vital expression quickly. The West has applauded his traditional painting and that has inevitably delayed his development. But his recent exhibition reveals a new intensity of feeling combined with a new and more indi-

vidual expression of it. He is looking at the social scene in certain pictures such as "Refugees" and "Christ" with deep emotion, and has succeeded in finding a mode of expression for this feeling which is truly his own, and indicative of his period.

Zubeida Agha has not lingered long among old traditions and yet, like Viswanatha Nageshkar, she has deep roots in those same traditions, roots which give her work a certain stability. Here is a bold artist, taking the visible world and using it as a point of departure into the deeper worlds of emotion and the spirit. Colour is used with great courage and success. With more maturity Zubeida Agha, who is working and studying in Europe at present on a Government scholarship, should become something more than a fine Pakistani painter; she should be a contemporary artist with an international reputation.

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BOOKS on the

The Struggle for Equality by P. S. JOSHI (*Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Rs. 8.12*).

Though the subject of this book is "whitemanism" in general its main theme is the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa. On November 17, 1855, the Secretary of State for the Colonies gave an assurance to the Government of India that indentured immigrants into Natal "would not be brought together in large numbers on isolated estates, where they will be treated as a separate class, but will be treated in small detachments, chiefly in villages among our European population, where the immigrants and their families will be rather treated as members of the household." Immigration began in 1860 and statistics show that the Indians brought prosperity with them. Anti-Indian agitation began two decades later. The first law relegating Indians to a lower status was enacted in 1885. Sixty-three years later the Nationalist Party under Malan fought and won a general election on the issue of "apartheid": pending mass repatriation Indians were to be deprived of representation in any legislative assembly and were to be segregated into separate areas where facilities for trading with other areas would be drastically curtailed. The Group Areas Bill—"this murderous Bill," as Mr. Joshi calls it—became law two years later.

Apartheid is only one count in Asia's indictment of the west. The nations of Asia find little to admire in a civilisation that has so conspicuously failed to unify mankind and yet claims to have a monopoly of God and the interpretation of His teachings. Mr. Joshi reminds us that among the most fierce and most cruel wars have been those waged by Christians in what they held to be Christian causes; he recalls how the Dutch Reformed Church declared in 1942 that "the principles of God were based upon colour discrimination and God accepted the trusteeship of the Europeans"; and he quotes the Chinese representative at Lake Success who declared that "in 5,000 years China had not found it necessary to have religious or racial discrimination and was perturbed that there still remained parts of the world where there was no racial equality."

These criticisms are not applied to Russia. Mr. Joshi quotes an article from the *Observer* pointing out that "a unique asset of the U.S.S.R. is the absence there of racial discrimination," and expressing the fear that Asia might become pro-Soviet. It is clear, however, that India, like China, has already discovered that Soviet Russia is the only Great Power that can be relied upon to maintain a friendly and considerate attitude towards the peoples of Asia.

FAR EAST

Under the stress of emotion Mr. Joshi becomes incoherent and repetitive; he overstates his case and is blind to the errors of his own people. His book has serious faults, but it deserves to be carefully read for it treats of serious issues which English people can no longer afford to ignore.

J. T. PRATT

Out of this World by LOWELL THOMAS (Macdonald, 18s.).

Any truthful account of Tibet, no matter whether well-written or not, cannot fail to be fascinating. The best parts of this book are not, as the publisher's blurb suggests, the narrative of the "main story," but the incidental descriptions of the life, food, character and customs of the Tibetans themselves. The actual day-to-day progress of the Lowell Thomases, father and son, across the windswept table-land of Tibet is less interesting; especially when one remembers the hazards and hardships of far more romantic expeditions.

The excellent photographs make up perhaps for the rather common-place style of the text, and prevent one sighing too much for the classic descriptions of scenery of that great explorer and botanist—Kingdon-Ward in his *Land of the Blue Poppy*.

One misses, too, Madam David-Neel's haunting interest in the mysticism and magic of lamas, gomchens, and gurus. This is indeed an extrovert's account, and the brief summaries of Buddhist thought and religion has the objective directness that one would expect of a young American more anxious to set down the recipe for buttered-tea than to describe the mystic walking trance of the "Lungom-pa." However, his zest and interest for the facts and objects of Tibetan life make his account unfailingly interesting.

PAUL ROCHE

Translations from Early Japanese Literature by EDWIN O. REISCHAUER AND JOSEPH K. YAMAGIWA (Harvard University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 40s.).

Consisting of works hitherto mostly inaccessible to the reader who has no Japanese, this book is an example of the type of research which American orientalists can do remarkably well. Paralleled in the field of Chinese by the *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, this work is so well documented that even the serious student needs no more than the original Japanese text to round off a complete knowledge of the different studies.

The first work translated is *Izayoi Nikki*, a minor classic which has been read by numerous generations of Japanese students since its first appearance some five or six centuries ago. Its poetic title (Diary of the Waning Moon) gives a clue to its contents. Ostensibly a record

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of her journey from Kyoto to Kamakura to intercede for justice for her children, the book is neither a diary nor a travel record in the true sense; it is rather a collection of poems by the Lady Abutsu linked by prose passages in which she shows herself longing to get back to verse.

The second work (which both authors translated independently, later pooling their efforts) is *Tsutsumi Chunagon Monogatari*. This is a twelfth-century collection of ten stories and a fragment, showing the beginning of a new technique of Japanese story-telling. A valuable introduction leads into a full discussion of the style and date of the work. Only one story from this work has hitherto appeared in English; that in a very free version (1929) by Arthur Waley. The present translation is faithful to the letter of the original; it is much less graceful in style than Waley's but it does indicate what the original is in style and form. The general reader cannot fail to appreciate the comic and satiric elements in these stories; the student will be glad to have a difficult work so well translated and annotated.

The two remaining translations are partial only. *Okagami* is a long twelfth-century work of uncertain authorship, valuable for the detail it gives of the Fujiwara family so long in charge of the destinies of the Japanese people. About one-third of *Heiji Monogatari* rounds off one of the most satisfying works of Oriental literary research.

NEVILLE WHYMANT

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AT YOUR SERVICE IN INDIA AS WELL AS ABROAD

Public Administration in Siam by W. D. REEVE. 8s. 6d.

Public Administration in Ceylon by SIR CHARLES COLLINS, C.M.G. 15s. (Both published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in co-operation with the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations).

The first two volumes in a series on the history and operation of public administration in Eastern countries afford some interesting data for comparison. Both countries are relatively prosperous and happy as Asian countries go. Both have come out of the war years fairly well, one of them after actual occupation and nominal participation on the losing side in the struggle. But while Ceylon has become a free country after three centuries of rule by three different European powers, Siam has developed her own system of government, employing the services of British and American advisers for long periods and sending many of her public servants overseas for their education.

One of the British Advisers to the Government of Siam for a period of nearly twenty years was Mr. Reeve whose authoritative volume on the way public affairs are conducted in that country can be described not only as thoroughly objective but as in many ways an eye-opener to those whose acquaintance with Siam derives largely from the almost comic opera politics that the Siamese have witnessed during the past decade. Mr. Reeve sees the weakness of a system under which a comparatively big standing army is able to seize power and monopolise the high offices of State and much official patronage. He is fully alive to the existence of a great deal of nepotism of the type common in the East. But, because of certain factors, the country is able to go its own way without feeling the repercussions of changes of government to any extent. There is a strong feeling of loyalty to the King and royal family. Politics are limited to a small group mostly in the capital.

The modernisation and improvement of the government and judicial system in Siam was largely due to the influence of British, American and other Western advisers, of whom there are very few left now. The good working of departments depends mainly on having efficient permanent civil servants at the head. There is, however, a tendency on the part of many senior officials to shrink from responsibility.

The country is singularly free from troublesome controls owing to its good economic situation and the limited needs of the mass of the people. It has modern legal codes and an independent judiciary. Literacy figures are high by Asian standards and vocational education facilities have been extended very wisely to avoid flooding the country with the "failed B.A." so often found in India. Health services are handicapped by a shortage of doctors of about the same order as in India, coupled with the same reluctance of doctors to serve in rural areas. The co-

operative movement is described by Mr. Reeve as an outstanding success and the evil of rural indebtedness has been reduced by the high prices of rice since the war. The police are reasonably efficient and the outbreak of armed robbery after the war was stamped out with surprising speed. Finally, Siam has a Civil Service Commission which functions generally smoothly and competently.

This is an impressive record and one is entitled to ask if it will be maintained. Mr. Reeve points out that in the pre-war period the standard of honesty in the Siamese administration was relatively high compared with most Asian, many European and many American countries. There was, he admits, some taking of gifts such as would be discountenanced in Britain, but which is not frowned on elsewhere—and Mr. Reeve expressly mentions the refrigerators given to President Truman's Military Aide. "Indeed Siam's pre-war standard of official honesty was higher than in most non-British countries: one likes to think that this was because so many of the senior official class had been educated in the United Kingdom and had imbibed British standards of conduct."

Since the war, however, inflation has forced many a civil servant to supplement a salary which is insufficient for his maintenance. Bribery and corruption have increased and Mr. Reeve hopes the inherent decency of the average Siamese will reassert itself. He notes signs of an improvement in the Customs Department lately placed under a completely honest and incorruptible prince.

Corruption is the great problem of the administration and the author thinks it will go on in some form till official salaries are commensurate with the cost of living.

Ceylon, happily, can look back on that phase of her administration as a thing of the past. Sir Charles Collins, who writes after 38 years in the Ceylon Civil Service, is able to treat his subject historically and to refer to a period over a century back when new officials had to eke out their salaries by private business. The period of constitutional changes in the last 30 years of British rule was also a period of considerable strain, particularly as the services had to face up to attacks and at times to political interference.

Sir Charles admits that the associations of the people of the country with overseas officers in the public services probably did not come as early as it might have done. But when it did come there was no question of its success and Ceylonese officials accepted the traditions of the service. To ensure that the services continue to be staffed in the most satisfactory manner, the Public Service Commission was strengthened on the eve of the conferment of Dominion Status.

The handing over of power together with a well-run administration took place very smoothly in 1948 and a year later the Island's Prime Minister was able to say "We have a public administration that has earned a high reputation and is considered to be as good as any in the world."

BERNARD FONSECA

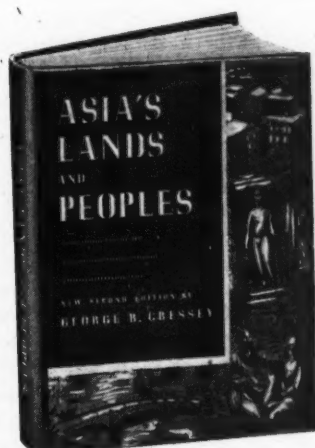
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REVIEW OF REVIEWS

A MYTH of long standing, namely that Chinese Communists are not real Communists at all but rather agrarian reformers, was exploded in *People's China* (No. 9, Vol. IV) by the Vice-Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Wu Chueh-nung, who, in an article on "Mutual-aid Teams in Chinese Agriculture," announced plans which parallel the development in the Soviet Union. "The new development of Chinese agriculture may be divided into three stages," Mr. Wu says. "The first, now largely completed, is the land reform which has already freed 310 million peasants from feudal bondage and removed the fetters that held back the development of rural production for thousands of years. The second, the present stage, is the organisation of agricultural production through co-operation and mutual help—through mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives. This is a stepping-stone to the third stage, which still lies in the future: collectivisation of agriculture on a nation-wide scale on the pattern of collective farming in the Soviet Union." As even the Kolkhoz system is being abolished in the Soviet Union, it will probably not take long until the Chinese Communists emulate the new Russian model.

A highly useful survey of "India's Political Parties" is presented by Prof. Werner Levi (University of Minnesota) in the *Far Eastern Survey* (No. 17, Vol. XX). Starting from the defections of many Congress Party members, Prof. Levi finds that "the slow deterioration of the Congress Party can easily be understood if we remember that originally it was not a Party in the usual sense, but an organised national movement for freedom from British rule. To this major aim matters of detail, questions of the nature of a future free India, and above all personalities, were subordinated. The vast majority of Indians found it possible to co-operate in a common struggle for a goal that was only broadly and vaguely defined." Now, however, the heterogeneous factions that worked together are falling apart and "dissatisfied, ambitious, or opportunistic elements see a good chance to form new parties or to strengthen old ones in competition with the dominant Congress Party." But what are the chances of the new parties in the coming elections? Congress, in Prof. Levi's opinion, represents today the right wing of Indian politics. We would rather say that Congress stands between the right wing, formed by the Hindu Mahasabha, the Akali Dal (an organisation originally rooted in the Punjab), and the recently founded Bharatiya Jana Sangh the leader of which is Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, an Indian communist who is against the abolition of the caste system, but for reunion with Pakistan. The programme of the B.J.S. sounds in our modern world surprisingly obsolete. Quite different are the aims of the opposition that comes from the left. The Communists, who during the times of the British Raj had many followers, especially among the textile mill and railway workers, have lost many supporters,

not only because of their violent actions, but also because during World War II they regarded Britain as their ally (when Congress had no more important aim than to get rid of British rule).

The Socialists, ably led by Narayan, Mehta and Lohia, left the Congress after Gandhi's death. The Party, originally restricted to urban intellectuals and industrial workers, is now "extremely active in the villages, with the intention first of becoming known, and thereafter of spreading its ideas. The rather remarkable peasant demonstrations which the Party has been able to organise, indicate that it is meeting with some success. The leadership hopes to gain 15 per cent. of the vote next January and a majority in the foreseeable future. This optimism is based not only upon the enthusiastic work of the leaders themselves, but also upon the conviction that the dissatisfied elements leaving the Congress will turn to the Socialist Party. However, so far most of these groups, Kripalani's among them, have preferred to form their own parties. Nevertheless, the Socialist Party at present is the only secular Indian party of nation-wide significance which appears capable of becoming a serious competitor to the Congress."

To readers who have read one or the other of the by now plentiful reports on German concentration and Soviet forced labour camps, I would suggest a glance at Mr. G. W. Rotheby's article on the "Taiping Rehabilitation Camp" in Malaya, published in the November issue of *Corona*. "The menace of Communist-inspired terrorism in Malaya," Mr. Rotheby says, "can only be stamped out by the people of the country, well and happily governed, spear-headed by efficient security forces. To hold large numbers of that population in custody or to banish them from the country, while worthwhile when dealing with incorrigible bad hats and as an example and deterrent to others, are only negative answers to the problem. Some way had to be found by which persons who have been under detention for prolonged periods could be released to carry on their peaceful livelihood without being a menace to the society of the country. The means devised by the Government of Malaya to tackle this problem is the Rehabilitation Camp at Taiping." This camp where Chinese "involved on the fringes of Communist rebellion" are re-educated, is apparently very successful.

Among other interesting material published recently I should like to mention "The Establishment of the Far Eastern Commission" by George H. Blakeslee in *International Organization* (Vol. V, No. 3); "Some Aspects of the Population Problem in Java" by H. de Meel in *The Australian Quarterly* (Vol. XXIII, No. 3); J. Frankel's "The Pacific Pact" in *World Affairs* (October 1951); "Foreign Aid and Social Tradition in Indonesia" by Justus M. van der Kroef in *Far Eastern Survey* (No. 18, Vol. XX).

JOHN KENNEDY.

TIBETAN NEW YEAR

By Winifred Holmes

THE hidden land of Tibet is closed to the outside world at present and no one knows whether its ancient patterns of social and religious life remain undisturbed, or whether indoctrination into another way of thinking is going on which will inevitably lead to conflict and possibly to the ultimate disintegration of the only remaining feudal state in the world.

How much this process will affect the hieratic art of Tibet, which includes as part of its expression, the ritual dancing performed as a religious rite by the monks, cannot be foretold. At any rate, there can be few drastic changes as yet and the great cycle of New Year dances will, no doubt, take place as usual at Lhasa and to an only slightly less magnificent degree at the other main religious centres of this devout land.

It is on the twenty-ninth day of the last month of the Old Year—the second last day of the year—that the great monastic dance is performed in the courtyard of the Potala in the presence of the Dalai Lama, the Prime Minister and the Tibetan Cabinet. The Abbots of the “three pillars of the state,” the three large monasteries around Lhasa, Drepung, the “Rice-Heap,” Sera, the “Rose-Fence,” and Ganden, the “Joyous,” must be present and, in fact, the entire population of the Holy City augmented by pilgrims and nomads who gather in Lhasa for the occasion are there to watch.

During this long dance-drama the devils of the past year are exorcised so that the New Year can enter a land swept clean of evil.

The Tibetan New Year falls usually in the early part of February. The Tibetan calendar is a mixture of Chinese and Western origins, the latter imported through India. It has been in use since A.D. 1027 and to the five elements of wood, fire, earth, iron and water are joined the twelve creatures of the Chinese zodiac: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, bird, dog and pig. The elements are placed first, so that the year may be the Fire-Ox Year or the Earth-Tiger Year.

Two days before the twenty-ninth day of the last month of the Old Year the Dalai Lama leaves his residence in the Jewel Park and is conveyed in state to the Potala where he must live until the New Year celebrations—the highest peak of the Tibetan Buddhist year—are over.

Sir Charles Bell describes the state entry of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama—“the Great Thirteenth”—into the Potala, giving an unforgettable portrait of the loneliness of a figure, intensely human, as he found the Dalai Lama to be, separated from the rest of humanity by his divinity. “The Inmost One” is carried in the Chair of



Mock Sword Battle. The battle is part of the New Year celebrations at the Potala, monastery palace of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa

State above the heads of the people who bow their heads and turn their eyes to the ground. “Even in the crowd he is secluded. In front of him ride the four members of the Cabinet. The Lord Chamberlain and the Dalai Lama’s own nephew, a lad of eighteen, are in attendance on the Chair of State, and two soldiers with drawn swords are immediately in front. And so the solitary figure in the Chair passes slowly by, looking out wistfully on the ceremony for which he has but little liking, though patience and training, combined with all-powerful custom, enable him to go through with it.”

Two days later he presides over the evil-exorcising dances, when, as the incarnation of Chen-re-zi, the patron God of Tibet, he must watch from the highest place with no one sitting or standing above him. In fact, the most humble have the best places. They sit on the ground and on the steps of the Potala, from which they can see every detail of the performance, not so easily visible from the most exalted positions of the great ones of the land, who sit in the galleries of the towering Potala.

The first part of the performance is concerned with Tibet’s history. Men dressed in ancient chain-mail, some carrying flintlock guns and others bows and arrows, enact scenes from Tibet’s early history when she was a warlike nation, the terror of Central Asia. Then, as adherents of the devil-worshipping Pön religion, her soldiers ranged the plains and steppes of Mongolia and under her hero-king Kesar, won resounding victories.

The actors—all laymen—are dressed as soldiers and stand opposite each other in two rows. They are supposed to be engaged in mortal combat and sometimes let off the flintlock guns with a loud explosion, to fill the courtyard

with smoke. They exchange taunts and replies and then follow on with the "spear-play." The actors who take part in this miming are affectionately called "Little Soldiers" and are rewarded afterwards for their pains with skin bags of barley flour.

But this depicts ancient history. Long since, Tibet has been a pacific nation, converted to the teaching of Gautama Buddha and dedicated to the service of religion. Her small standing army is a gesture to a measure of defence, that is all.

Now three terrific blasts sound from the great bass trumpets placed on their gold-wrought stand at the top of the steps. The monk band, some fifty or more strong, with their gongs, cymbals, and small shrill trumpets come on and arrange themselves under a special awning set for them. Again the enormous trumpets boom forth and a gigantic figure, with a huge grinning mask for a head and clad in a rich red gown over a golden robe, strides heavily and portentously into the middle of the courtyard-stage. At each two or three steps he stops and lifts his foot. This slows up his progress and seems to emphasise the grinning good-temperedness of his mask-face with its shining bald head.

He represents Jin-da Ha-shang, the Mongolian, often called the Chinese Laughing Buddha, or priest-god of Happiness. "His large body denotes his strength and his large head, old age and prosperity," says Sir Charles Bell, who was privileged to see these ritual New Year Dances as the guest of the Dalai Lama some years ago. On each side of him advance smaller figures, each symbolising some aspect of Tibetan history and belief. Nearest to him are the figures of his two children, represented by monks in skirts, masks, and false hair; beyond each of them is an Indian Brahmin and beyond them again are two monks dressed as skeletons who symbolise the guardians of the places where the dead are committed to the air.

Before Ha-shang actually descends the steps he scatters a handful of barley flour and sacred *tsam-pa-ka* flowers as an offering to the gods, for Ha-shang is not only an emblem of strength but also of charity. After he and his attendants have arrived in the courtyard they make solemn obeisance to the Dalai Lama and after a dignified dance

they retire and group themselves round Ha-shang, who is seated and remains motionless as an onlooker for the rest of the day's performance.

Next there dance on to the stage monks who represent various animal energies; not devils, as is often erroneously supposed. They wear long robes and realistic animal masks with fronts made of wood or papier mache, painted, and with long pieces of cloth hanging down behind. Some of these masks have a horrifying look, with long fangs and bulging eyes, but they are not demons. Some are meant to represent goddesses. All the performers are monks from the "All-conquering College," the special chapter of monks who live in the Potala and from whom the Dalai Lama draws his own priesthood.

Two of these dancers take the stage together. They dance down the steps, scattering rice from bowls held out by monk attendants. The band plays insistently and they then dance round the courtyard with their arms outstretched in their long decorated sleeves, they balance on one foot, turn slowly, hop once or twice and turn. Balance is difficult and must take some time to acquire and the whole effect is a mixture of effective and stylised posturing and acrobatics.

When they have gone the crowd whistles. This is an introduction to the skeleton dancers who next take the stage. They come hopping down the steps, scattering ashes as they go and make a gruesome sight. Instead of flowing robes they wear tight-fitting garments with the bones painted on effectively in white. In addition they have large grinning skeleton heads, big ears, and long bony fingers and claws. They scatter flour over each other and amuse the audience vastly, in spite of their ghoulish appearance.

They represent the Brahmin guardians of the cemeteries, or grounds where corpses are committed to the elements. Their duty is to ward off from the spot all mischievous and evil influences and spirits; these are represented by a picture or sometimes an effigy laid on the ground, round which they dance, or rather, mop and mow and clatter their bony fingers, symbolising the Evil of the Community.

While this is going on the Ancient Man appears. He wears a life-like mask with a long grey beard and tonsured head and as he pretends to totter round the court, occasionally sinking down as if too feeble to go on any longer, the crowd roars with laughter.

A monk attendant comes forward and offers him a bowl of dried fruit and sweetmeats. This is the signal for the onlookers to rush into the courtyard and scramble for the good things, in spite of the attendants who flourish mischievous and evil influences and spirits; these are rep- their whips vigorously. A tiger-skin is placed on the carpet where the Ancient Man is buffooning. He hits it hard with his stick, then rolls over and over with it in apparent mortal combat until at last he wins. He casts

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aside the slain tiger and dances round the court, a young and vigorous man again.

This dance of the rejuvenation of the Ancient Man is ascribed to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, who saw it in a dream and introduced it into the New Year ritual. While this dance is still going on the skeletons disappear, scampering up the steps again: the trumpets proclaim the entry of an important personage and down the steps, with slow dignity, comes the most important actor-dancer of the whole proceedings.

The Black Hat dancer commemorates the lama of the 10th century who slew the wicked King Lang-dar-ma, who had come to power by murdering his brother and, an adherent of the old demon-worshipping Pön religion, had almost wiped out Buddhism from Tibet. This lama succeeded in approaching the upstart king and slaying him by the ruse of dressing in black robes and a tall black hat, lined with white, and riding a white horse, covered with soot. The king invited this strange black magician to dance before him and as he circled nearer the lama finally plunged his spear into Lang-dar-ma's heart. He then escaped in the confusion which followed by reversing his hat and clothes and riding his sooty horse through a river, so that he was unrecognised.

The Black Hat dancer is the chief magician of the most serious part of the whole dance. He is also Master of the Dance and the other Black Hat dancers, who are less gorgeously dressed, take their tempo and steps from him. He wears an immense gold hat bordered with black, ornamented with miniature skulls and peacocks' feathers, and with a wide strip of gold cloth reaching from the top almost to the ground at the back. His rich brocade robes are decorated with ritual thunderbolts and skulls and he wears an apron of beads carved from human bones. He is the finest dancer and all his movements are graceful and flowing as he pirouettes round the courtyard, gesturing with first one hand, holding a thunderbolt dagger with a blue cloth, and in the other a small imitation of a human skull, complete with flowing black hair. As he makes passes with his hands he weaves spells and the crowd, who had whistled at the skeletons and laughed with the Ancient Man, now falls completely silent. Here is magic, the magic of old evil being dispelled so that good may prevail in the year that is to come.

The Evil of the Community is already there, in the form of the picture or effigy lying on the carpet in the middle. The Black Hat magician first summons up the spirit of *Karma* and then, with the attendant Black Hat dancers dancing round and round in a magic circle—the *mandala*—he continues to weave his spells over the mock corpse on the ground, until the "Protectors of Religion" enter to a fanfare of trumpets. These are monks splendidly dressed in yellow hats (representing the Yellow Hat or Reformed Church of Tibet) and long pleated cloaks and scarlet fringed brocade hanging from their shoulders.



New Years dance, performed before Ha-shang ("The Laughing Buddha") and his attendants at the Potala

They carry golden censers and blow shrill trumpets. Among them is a huge figure, only slightly smaller than Ha-shang, who represents the guardian of Tsong-ka-pa, the reformer of the Yellow Hat Church.

These "Protectors of Religion" have come to assist the Black Hat chief magician to bring the Evil One to justice. They read out the charges against him, chief of which are that he has prevented and hindered gods, men and animals from obtaining deliverance from the Wheel of Life.

By the time this part of the proceedings takes place the afternoon searching winds of the Lhasa plain have risen and whirl round the dancers, sending their robes swirling and the dust flying. This is a good omen as the evil spirits, angry and aware of their approaching end are stirring up all the trouble they can.

Now the Chief Executioner appears. He is a nimble young dancer with a stag's head and silver clothes. He dances with arms stretched out in front of him, leaping and kicking out his legs, darting here and there to make sure that all the evil spirits have been collected on the carpet with the mock corpse. He settles down on the corpse, sometimes twisting and jumping right round to face in another direction, sometimes twitching in time to the music of the band. He is Death.

At last the powers of evil are collected safely on the picture or effigy, which is then thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil, heated on a great fire of flaming brushwood and thorns which has been carefully prepared for it. The Black Hat Magician takes a human skull filled with spirit, which he flings into the oil. The flames shoot many feet into the air: the people clap to help drive away the devils. The New Year may dawn now with all the evil of the old year exorcised and burnt away.

THE SHORTS

By Idrus

Translated from the Indonesian by George T. Begley

ON the day the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour Kusko's father bought his son a pair of shorts, of thick drill, "1001" brand, made in Italy.

The father had never been infected by interest in politics, and remained totally unaware even of the uproar caused by the Pearl Harbour incident. The one fact of which he was fully conscious was that in the department of trousers his son lacked means to keep up the most elementary human dignity. On that day those with the slightest interest in international affairs had faces distorted with hatred, fear, and anger. Not so Kusno's father, he was smiling amiably, a man who had just achieved the impossible—a pair of shorts for his son.

Kusno was almost fourteen, nearing the end of primary school, about to look for work. With his dressy shorts, he had the impression that jobs would be simply waiting for him. And he proposed to demonstrate to his father that there are some children in the world who know how to repay kindness. In fact, that day, Kusno's family was happy as never before in living memory. The news about Pearl Harbour, grave as it was, stirred not an echo in the hearts of these worthy people.

How true it is that only the great want war while the common people ask nothing more than to live in peace! As to employment, it must be admitted, that Kusno did not obtain a job as quickly as he had expected. In spite of the distance of the place attacked, employers were profoundly conscious of the gravity of the hour. The inevitable result was "no hands wanted." Above the age-old buildings heavy clouds were massing, and through them with a little luck a face could be seen, the Angel of Death on the prowl.

Kusno found himself compelled to adjust his terms to the market. Since he could not be a clerk he would become a door-keeper. But no! No door-keepers were wanted either. After endless travelling from agency to agency he finally got a job; as a "boy," salary ten florins a month.

To put it mildly, father Kusno was even less delighted about this than his son. He knew what being a "boy" meant. He was one himself. To see his child sinking into the same rut depressed him badly. When, in the course of time, Kusno had children of his own, would they, too, be "boys"? Generations of "boys," from father to son till the end of time? In every hut in the district there were parents all with troubles of their own. All had arrived at the same conclusion, that man proposes and God disposes.

However, Kusno's work was giving general satisfaction. Gradually the "1001" drill began to lose its fine

finish. Frequent washings were needed, through heat, dust, humidity. Only the one pair of shorts. Every month Kusno counted on buying a new pair, but his ten florins were barely enough to keep him in food. And after each washing the appearance of the "1001" became more disturbing.

Kusno's thinking developed with his clothing. On the day when, humanly speaking, the shorts became good-for-nothing what would become of him? Daily he prayed to Allah that there would be no rain. Yet supposing by ill chance rain should fall just the same! Kusno regarded his shorts as a mother gazes on her son about to leave for the war.

Heavy drill "1001." One, nought, nought, one. One multiplied by one equals one. But one minus one, how much does that leave? He had shorts on the brain, like a dam blocking the necessary flow of ideas. Especially the days when he had no money but needed soap because the shorts were filthy with sweat and dust.

No indeed, the people are never for war. What they want is a living without frills and then without the fear of being out of a job next day. As for the higher-ups they said that they were for war. On loud-speakers they explained why; some "for democracy;" others "to establish the prosperity of greater Asia." Democracy, Kusno had no means of knowing what it was. The word "prosperity" caught his interest. It said effectively what it meant, in fact, it brought his shorts to mind. Prosperity clearly meant shorts.

So when the Japanese Army arrived he, too, welcomed them with hand-shaking and little flags. And just as the masses of the Indonesian people were to live in hope of one day becoming an independent people, Kusno was to live hoping daily for a new pair of shorts.

After three months, the shorts were no nearer than the independence. When Kusno gave up the last thread of hope, the thread of his shorts had become a most urgent reality. The fine white colour had long vanished and what now remained was a confusion of blackish yellows. The shorts were clearly fit for nothing, something to be concealed even by one who was only a "boy."

Kusno went so far as to try and make his chief see reason on the matter. He received a reaction that emptied him instantly of the "new spirit" vital to the Indonesian people.

For several days he continued going to work, but his shame outweighed ten florins. He resigned. Hard times would lie ahead, but he would be free from the crushing weight of shame. He had no illusions, there would be

difficult moments, many difficult moments, nothing but difficult moments. But Allah is the compassionate, the merciful. That Kusno knew.

One day Kusno became dizzy. That would pass soon enough if he could get food—real food. But for two days he had been chewing the bark of trees. He thought for a moment of trading the former "1001" shorts for a meal of human food. No! Once the shorts had gone the hunger would still recur then more acutely. And then how would he cover himself? Next he considered stealing, but there was Allah who had forbidden him to do so. And though they had never seen him all generations of Kusno's family had prostrated themselves before Allah.

So Kusno neither sold his rags nor stole, but lived

on leaves. Yet he did not die. Miserably he lived on, according to his ideas on the Nobility of Man. It should be said that Kusno did not renounce hope entirely. He was born in misery, and misery alone had not deserted him. Yet although his shorts were worn thread-bare he still resisted his life-long companion—misery. Perhaps one day he might have another pair of thick drill "1001," made in Italy.

Meanwhile he had only one pair of shorts, diminishing in existence and soon to cease existing altogether. Like Kusno himself. It remains to retail one thing he could never come to understand; why there was still war and why it was fought. Obviously there is no room in the world for one with ideas like that.

ECONOMIC SECTION

"Cold War" Against Malaya's Tin Industry

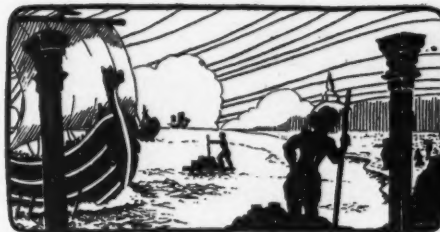
By V. Wolpert

MALAYA'S tin mining industry, which constitutes an important sector of the national economy and employs a labour force of about 50,000 workers, greatly suffered under Japanese occupation. Immediately after the end of the war, when the world was "tin hungry," the work of rehabilitation began, and the production of tin in Malaya increased steadily until it reached about 32,000 tons in 1947, nearly 45,000 tons in 1948, nearly 55,000 tons in 1949, and 57,500 tons in 1950. These increases were achieved in spite of the outbreak of guerilla activities in June 1948, and which have since been hampering the normal activities of the industry.

The need for a still further increase of tin production in Malaya was stressed at the October Commonwealth Conference in London (see *October issue* EASTERN WORLD). It is gratifying that Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, almost immediately upon his appointment, announced his decision to visit Malaya, in order to get a first-hand picture of the situation. However, despite all the pronouncements about the importance of South-East Asia for the West, and about the necessity of stemming the Communist advance into South-East Asia, a section of the U.S. Administration declared war against Malaya's tin industry this year. This industry has been compelled to defend itself simultaneously against

Communist guerilla troops in Malaya and against drastic action by Washington, described in the American Press as warfare on tin producers.

In March of this year, the Preparedness Sub-Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, under the chairmanship of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, released a Report on Tin. The Report levelled a number of charges against the tin producers, alleging that tin corporations with interlocking connections across national boundaries joined together in schemes to restrict production in order to



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maintain satisfactory prices for tin. The Report declared that the American taxpayer is weary of being "gouged" for the privilege of obtaining from some of America's allies the raw materials with which he is expected to supply food and armament needs of the non-Communist nations in the event of another all-out war, and added that this committee intends to do whatever it can to put an end to that "gouging." Shortly after the publication of this Senate Report, Malaya's delegates, invited by the U.S.A. to Washington, were given an assurance that this Report had nothing to do with the tin policy of the State Department, and were requested to "overlook" it.

But *A Report from Malaya on Tin* (a reply to the Report on Tin by the Preparedness Sub-Committee of the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate) issued by the F.M.S. Chamber of Mines and the All-Malaya Chinese Mining Association states that, "subsequent developments and repeated statements by the Administrator of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation clearly indicate that the fallacious Senate report forms the basis of a 'get tough' policy and that this report was used as justification for R.F.C. to monopolise the distribution of tin in America." On June 8, Stuart Symington, the Administrator of the R.F.C. declared in Washington that a "world cartel has murdered us (i.e. the U.S.A.) on prices from the time trouble developed in Korea until we took counter-action . . ."

"Counter-action" means the artificial cutting down of tin imports by the U.S.A. with all the consequences for U.S. industry, which uses tin as a raw material. It is a threat to the stability of the tin mining industry in several countries, as the U.S.A. is the largest importer and consumer of this commodity. Tin metal exports from Malaya to the U.S.A. amounted to 15,000 tons during the first half of 1949, 25,600 tons during the second half of 1949, and 27,500 tons during the first half of 1950, representing over 70 per cent. of Malaya's total tin exports during the period between the beginning of 1948 and June 30, 1950. During the first half of 1951, the total U.S. imports of tin metal and tin concentrates dropped to less than an average of 5,800 tons a month, as against nearly 9,000 tons a month during the whole of 1950. *A Report from Malaya on Tin* repudiates the charges made by the U.S. sub-committee. It declares categorically that there is "ample tin for normal industrial needs and for a strategic stockpile if accumulated on an orderly basis," and states there has been "no agreement, understanding or co-ordinated effort of any kind by tin producers which could remotely be considered a cartel." The report points out that during the post-war period from 1945 until the end of 1949 the British Ministry of Supply was practically the sole buyer of Straits tin. During this time the U.S. Government bought tin from the British authorities and other sources and allocated it to American industrial users. "Thus . . . consumption was strictly regulated while production was uncontrolled." The Malayan report says that this agreement did not operate to the advantage of the producers on whom it was imposed, as the fixed price was "far below what is should have been. Viewed in the light of subsequent events this arrangement," the report concludes, "was exploitation of tin producing areas pure and simple."

Dealing with the question of the object of the U.S. Report on Tin, the Malayan report says in the introduction: "It is pertinent to enquire whether the object of such actions is not to cover up errors in bulk buying policy prior to the Korean War and then to try to redeem these errors by means of a deliberate programme of exploitation of the Tin Producing Countries."

It is to be hoped—in the interests of the producers and consumers—that the "cold war" imposed by Washington on an important sector of Malaya's national economy will come to an end. J. H. Rich, Chairman of Tronch Mines Ltd., stated on November 1 that, "It is not a question of what the U.S.A. or anyone else considers a fair price, but it boils down to the simple question—is the tin required? If so, then the price must be such that the necessary tin will be forthcoming . . ." and he pointed out—referring to production from Chinese sources in Malaya—that: "if the production of tin from Malaya is to be increased or even maintained, a remunerative price must be paid to keep marginal producers in production."

In the meantime, tin negotiations between Bolivia and

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the U.S.A. broke down at the end of October, as Bolivia was not prepared to accept the price of 112c. per lb., described by Stuart Symington as "the best offer he could make," and it was decided that a U.S. Mission, headed by General Wilson, G.S.A., and including Charles Merrill, Bureau of Mines, and H. P. Bramble, International Materials Office, should be sent to Malaya and Indonesia (*The Mining Journal*, October 26, 1951). However, as the same journal (November 2, 1951) points out:

"It is possible that what the Americans have in mind is not the purchase of metal, but of concentrates for the Texas smelter which will feel the draught if Bolivian concentrates continue to be sent elsewhere. Efforts are also expected to be made to induce the Indonesian Government to ship their concentrates to Texas instead of to Arnhem . . ."

THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL AND THE EAST

By A Special Correspondent

EIGHTY-FIVE years ago a Blue Funnel Line vessel, the "Agamemnon," of 2,300 tons gross register, sailed from the River Mersey bound for Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai via the Cape, and so inaugurated the first regular steamship service from the Port of Liverpool to the Far East.

Last October, one of the many vessels which left the Mersey for that part of the world bore the same name and was operated by the same owners. Her tonnage, however, is 7,829 and she carried nearly five thousand tons of cargo consigned to half a dozen different ports including Penang, Singapore and the Philippine Islands. Included in the cargo was iron and steel, chemicals, machinery and earthenware.

Last year 242,205 tons of imports from China, French Indo China, Japan and the East Indies passed through the Port of Liverpool and the exports to the same countries amounted to 167,760 tons. These cargoes included every conceivable product of the Far East and practically all types of goods manufactured in British factories and mills.

The growth of this trade was given a great impetus when the Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and has steadily increased ever since. This increase was, however, no

The urgency of terminating the "cold war" by the U.S. Administration against the tin mining industry of S.E. Asia, became even more clearly apparent at the October Conference of ECAFE, when Migunov, chief Soviet delegate to this Singapore Conference, declared that the U.S.S.R. was prepared to barter tin and rubber from Asia against capital goods and consumer goods, urgently required by the Asian countries.

EASTERN WORLD has repeatedly advocated that the Western countries should give priority to the deliveries of these goods to S.E. Asia, and the comment made by *The Singapore Standard* that, "By giving rigid priority to defence needs Western nations would be defeating their own purpose—the preservation of peace and democracy in Asia" should not be overlooked in the capitals of the West, specially in Washington.



Liverpool Docks

matter of chance, for the shipowners have always endeavoured to maintain regular and fast sailings from Liverpool, and the Port Authority have improved and augmented the facilities necessary to ensure a quick turn round. For instance, in 1928 they carried out a large scheme of reconstruction solely to enable the largest vessels using the Suez Canal to load to the maximum depth and to dock and undock without undue delay.

Most of the vessels trading to Asia discharge their cargoes at the south side of the Gladstone Branch Dock No. 1, which forms part of the most modern system of docks in the Port. At this berth there is a treble-storey transit shed 1,502 feet long and 150 feet wide, equipped with ample quayside and roadside cranes and the most modern mechanical appliances. The ground floor of the shed is used for transit purposes only, i.e., the receiving, sorting, weighing and delivery of cargo, but the two upper floors have been adapted for warehousing. This means that cargo, such as rubber, can be discharged ex-steamer direct into store, which reduces handling costs and eliminates cartage charges. This berth has also been equipped with

specially constructed pipe lines for the direct discharge of Latex from ship to storage tanks. When discharge is complete these vessels move to the Birkenhead docks to load their outward cargo.

The growth of the Australian trade through the Port is no less impressive. One hundred years ago James Baines founded the Liverpool Black Ball Line of Australian Packets when he purchased a vessel built at St. John, New Brunswick. Her name, the "Marco Polo," is famous in maritime history and although her registered tonnage was only 1,625, she completed her first voyage to Melbourne in 68 days. The business of this line was taken over in 1871 by Thomas Marwood and Co., now Marwood and Robertson Ltd., who to-day, in conjunction with James Dowie and Co., Ltd., have a regular service comprising some of the largest and fastest vessels sailing between Liverpool and Australian ports. The Blue Funnel Line also maintain a regular passenger and cargo service from Liverpool. Last year no less than 694,819 tons of cargo were exported to Australia and New Zealand through Liverpool and the imports amounted to 553,142 tons. There is a growing demand in the north of England for the high quality produce of the Dominions and the merchants of Yorkshire know that wool shipped via Liverpool will receive the most efficient handling.

The body responsible for the administration of the Port of Liverpool is the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, a Public Trust constituted by Parliament in 1857. It is

composed of 28 members—24 of whom are elected by the shipowners whose vessels use the docks and by the traders whose goods pass over the quays. The other four are elected by the Government. All these members have had a long practical experience in the field of transport and do not receive any remuneration for their services to the Port. The work of this Board has been particularly valuable during the post-war years for the handling of the large volume of traffic offering has presented many problems particularly having in mind that during the war years the Port was extensively damaged, one-third of its shed and warehouse accommodation being totally demolished and another third badly damaged. No time, however, was lost in planning the reinstatement of the Dock Estate and all those sheds which could be repaired were very soon back in commission. There were, however, many open quays on which sheds formerly stood and an extensive rebuilding programme was authorised which includes 11 new transit sheds of the most modern design and construction. Four of these have already been completed and it is hoped that four more will be in commission before the end of the year.

This reconstruction work, carried out despite shortages of raw materials and skilled labour, has enabled the Port Authority to allocate to vessels in the Australian and New Zealand trade new berthage accommodation which they are confident will greatly assist them in giving shipowners and traders that efficient service for which the Port of Liverpool is so renowned.



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INSURANCE IN THE FAR EAST (III)

By L. Delgado

IN China, apart from the small associations for mutual insurance that we have noticed, insurance as we know it in the West has in modern times been centred in the north at Shanghai. The various revolutions, riots and other disturbances, civil and military, prevented the spread of insurance beyond the treaty ports, and more especially beyond the great trading centres of Shanghai. Accident was the most important class. The practice of life insurance does not seem to exist among the Chinese, and the British companies operating in the treaty ports dealt only with British residents. The occupation by Japan of these parts naturally put a stop to the business of the Western companies. The rich commerce that existed between East Asia from Shanghai to Singapore had drawn all the principal insurance companies of the West—especially the British—and several Australasian concerns.

The largest company having its headquarters in China was the Union Insurance Society of Canton. This is a powerful concern with British capital (of £2 mill.) and under British management. It was established in 1835 for the purpose of insuring the cargoes that made up the growing commerce between the East and the West. It was founded in the spirit of the merchant adventurers, who,

preceeding the British flag, opened up vast areas of the world to a higher standard of life. It began to transact fire business at the beginning of the century. Its managers were men of profound knowledge in Far Eastern affairs. The Chinese business was eminently successful until the outbreak of the second world war. The company had in the meantime extended its activities to other parts of the world. At the end of 1940, prudence obliged it to move its Head Office from Hong Kong to Sydney. With the seizure of Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya, the Philippine Islands, and other countries, the Society lost all its Far Eastern assets. The value of these was written off, and it says much for the soundness of the Company and for the efficiency of the management that this action did not impair its financial stability. The principal field of operations had for some time been the United Kingdom, but links were strengthened with the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. With the defeat of Japan in 1945, the major portion of the assets written off was recovered. Business in Hong Kong was recaptured and was reasonably good by 1950, but that in China, which since the war had never recovered its former proportions, became negligible owing to the political conditions existing throughout the country and the virtual closure of trade with Shanghai. In 1948, for instance, business in China

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accounted for less than one per cent. of the total premium income of the Company. The Company operates subsidiaries in China: the British Traders' Insurance Co., the China Fire Insurance Co., the North China Insurance Co., and the Yangtze Insurance Association. It is to be hoped that the organisation of these subsidiaries can be preserved in spite of the difficult times through which the country is traversing.

In East China in general, the Communist victory has, in fact, resulted in a considerable reduction in the number of companies operating there. The immediate cause was the regulations issued by the East China Military Control Commission, which require a "business reserve" of Jmp. 50 m. as a condition of operating. Thirty-seven Chinese and 27 foreign companies have complied with the regulations, while 12 foreign companies have failed to do so. Thirteen British and four Commonwealth companies are among those who have put up the reserve, and two British and one Australian company among those who have not.

(To be concluded).

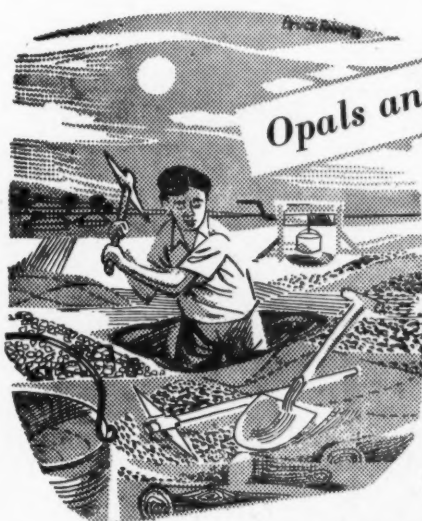
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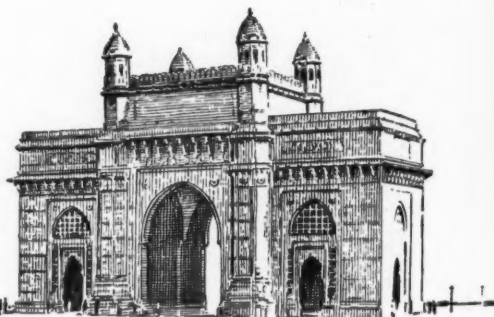
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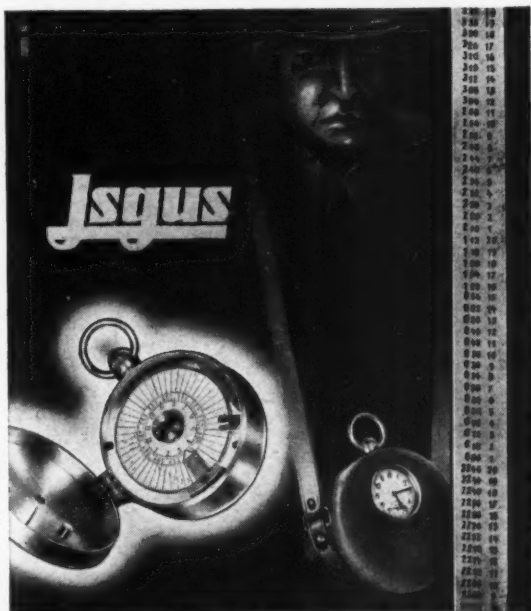
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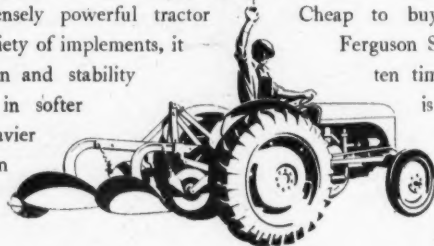
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